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The South African Outlook

JANUARY 1, 1958.

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The South African Outlook

And He said, My presence shall go with thee, and I will give thee rest. And he said unto Him, If Thy presence go not with me carry us not up hence.
—Exodus 33, 14-15.

* * * *

An Unusual Deputation.

According to the South African Press Association, on Monday, 1st December, the Durban City Council received a deputation for the first public hearing in twenty years. The deputation appeared to tell of the deep anxiety felt by almost forty church, cultural and welfare organisations in Durban which were threatened with possible banning under the "church clause of the Native Laws Amendment Act." Mr. A. Goldberg, a former Member of Parliament, speaking on behalf of the Council for the Defence of Freedom of Association, said that in many instances the concurrence of the local authority was required before the Minister could sign the death warrant of the institutions concerned. "Your declaration of faith in continued racial association for the conduct of vital communal activities, and your declared assurance that the council cherishes the right of freedom of association, will make those safeguards, as far as they go, a reality," he said. Mr. Goldberg pointed out that the Native Laws Amendment Act was one of the few pieces of legislation of its kind in which the Minister of Native Affairs had not assumed for himself complete freedom of action. That, however, was not due to an oversight. The intensity of the outcry against the Bill drove the Minister to incorporate certain safeguards as an insurance against what many regarded as the whims and caprices of the Minister. "We seek to be assured that

those safeguards do, in fact, constitute a reality," he said. Organisations represented by the deputation included the Roman Catholic, Methodist, Congregational and Presbyterian Churches, university bodies such as NUSAS, the Lecturers' Association of Natal University, the European SRC, youth movements such as the YMCA, YWCA, and Boy Scouts, S.A. Institute of Race Relations, and the National Council of Women.

* * * *

Tribal Representatives in Towns.

We learn from the *Star* that at Nongoma on 4th December, in a surprise policy statement Mr. M. D. C. de Wet Nel, M.P., deputy-chairman of the Native Affairs Commission, said the Government intended extending the Bantu Authorities Act into the towns by the appointment of tribal "attaches." Mr. de Wet Nel was speaking at a ceremony at the kraal of Paramount Chief Cyprian Bhekuzulu to mark the full acceptance of the Bantu Authorities Act by the Usutu tribe and the extension of the tribal authorities. The ceremony was attended by about 80 chiefs and headmen from all parts of Zululand, their indunas and about 3,000 Usutu tribesmen. Mr. de Wet Nel, who met the members of the new tribal authorities, said the Government was asking the Native tribes in the Union to nominate urban representatives who would be responsible for the well-being of the people in the towns. "We will look at the names you send us, and because they will be in the White man's area, we will decide whom we will accept to speak for the Zulus when they have any complaints." A senior Native Affairs Department official said the system of tribal representatives in the towns was aimed at strengthening tribal ties. No details of the representatives' duties or powers have as yet been released. It would also provide a valuable link between municipal and Government officials and the various tribes. Mr. de Wet Nel presented the Usutu tribal authorities with a safe and a Nguni bull, and tribal authorities documents. He said a great task lay ahead. Paramount Chief Cyprian, by accepting the Bantu Authorities Act and the Department of Native Affairs betterment schemes, has given a lead to the rest of the tribes in Natal and Zululand, he said. "I look forward to the day when the whole of the Zulu people will be united under one territorial authority."

* * * *

Damages for Prison Assault.

According to the *Star*, an African, Wilson Mtati, of Port Elizabeth, was awarded £633 6s. by the Appeal Court in an action brought on appeal by him against the Minister of Justice. The assault took place in February last year at the New Brighton Police Station, Port Elizabeth, in a cell in which Mtati and two other Natives were confined at the time. Entering the cell, a Native constable, Tshiki, inquired "Who is the person who assaulted the police?" And upon Mtati being pointed out to him by another Native constable Tshiki proceeded to assault him, knocking him down by a blow in the face with a fist and kicking him while he was on the ground. His screams of pain were heard by a European detective-constable in an office near by, and he caused Tshiki to be apprehended by other constables. Mtati was removed to hospital with serious injuries. Subsequently, Tshiki was convicted in the magistrate's court of assaulting Mtati with intent to do him grievous bodily harm, and he was dismissed from the police force. In his plea the Minister of Justice admitted the assault complained of, but denied liability for compensation on the ground that in committing the assault Tshiki was not acting in the course of his employment as he had no authority to visit the appellant's cell on the occasion of the assault. This judgment is an important one, both for the public and police.

* * * *

At Last

—Something to be said for a Convict Farm.
Farmer's life saved—by a convict.

According to the Johannesburg *Star*, a Native convict of Louis Trichardt, last month saved the life of a farmer, Mr. Lewies Roux, of Angelina, who was attacked by a leopard. The convict was serving his sentence on Mr. Roux's farm as a labourer. Mr. Roux and the convict were searching for a calf lost in the bush when they came across the tracks of the leopard. It sprang suddenly from a low tree and rushed at Mr. Roux who was armed with a .303 rifle. With little time to aim, Mr. Roux shot and wounded the animal, which continued its rush. There was no time for a further shot before Mr. Roux was knocked to the ground by the leopard. With one claw on the farmer's back it began to ravage his arm and shoulder. Meanwhile, the convict, who had ample opportunity to run away, rushed to Mr. Roux's aid and attacked the leopard with an axe. "I've seen leopards before," said Mr. Roux, "but I've never seen a more angry one. I thought I was done for. In another minute he would have chewed my arm and shoulder off. I was on the point of losing consciousness. The convict's bravery was amazing. He stood over the beast and hacked away without thought for his safety. The leopard released its hold on me and

turned on the convict. I tried for a shot but was afraid of hitting the convict. I hit the leopard with my rifle butt but made no impression. Finally I grabbed the beast by the tail and pulled until he let go. Helping each other along we hurried away from the leopard. With a bullet in him and weakened by the blows he was reluctant to attack again. We reached the main road and a neighbour took us to the Louis Trichardt Hospital." After a few days' treatment, Mr. Roux was discharged but carries deep scars of the attack. The convict is expected back on the farm from hospital without much delay.

* * * *

Principal of Fort Hare.

To the pleasure of many it was announced on 9th December that a Principal had been found for Fort Hare University College. Professor H. R. Burrows, the William Hudson professor of economics at the University of Natal for the past 19 years, was approached by the Governing Council, agreed to be nominated, and his appointment was confirmed—one of the last acts, we are informed, of Mr. J. H. Viljoen, the late Minister of Education, Arts and Science. Prof. Burrows has had a distinguished military and academic career. In the 1914-18 war he earned the Military Cross and Croix de Guerre with Palm and was twice mentioned in dispatches while serving in France with the West Yorkshire Regiment. He was a graduate of Leeds University, becoming a master of commerce. For 16 years he was on the staff of Bristol University, before coming to Durban in 1938 as William Hudson professor of economics at the Natal University College. Apart from his university work, Professor Burrows has served on the Social and Economic Planning Council, the Nutrition Council and on the central committee of the Governor-General's War Fund. From 1945 to 1947 he was Economic Adviser to Tanganyika. During his stay in Durban he was also arbitrator in three disputes between the city council and municipal employees. While at Natal University he commanded the Training Corps, earning the efficiency decoration for his service. He is a widower with three married children. We deem Fort Hare fortunate to have secured the services of so distinguished a head, not least as it enters on a new phase which may entail delicate negotiations with Government. We wish Prof. Burrows every happiness.

* * * *

Retirement of Dr. Ray and Mrs. Phillips.

The end of December saw the close of service to South Africa of Dr. Ray Phillips, director of the Jan H. Hofmeyr School of Social work, and Mrs. Phillips. Theirs has been a remarkable work extending over some forty years, finding its centre in Johannesburg but radiating all over the Union and beyond. It is gratifying to know that steps are

being taken to recognise their labours for South Africa in some permanent benefaction. According to the *Star*, Dr. and Mrs. Phillips were due to leave on December 21 for the United States, where they were born and where their three married children live. They will still be attached to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and will have a year's leave in America before their actual retirement. "It is breaking our hearts to leave this country, but I felt I should retire while we still had some years of work before us," Dr. Phillips said. "I am 68, but don't feel it—possibly because we have always associated with young people—and we shall continue working in America. Our children, too, would like to have us with them on the same continent." Dr. Phillips is an acknowledged authority on Native affairs. He has three publications to his credit—"The Bantu Are Coming," "Bantu in the City" and "Crux of the Race Problem." He is chairman of the Moroka Advisory Board and of the Bantu Men's Social Centre. Mrs. Phillips's work is varied. She is chairman of the Helping Hand Club for Native Girls, president of the Girls' Wayfarers' Association, which has 39,000 members, and is on the board of the Talitha Home. We wish Dr. and Mrs. Phillips a happy and active "semi-retirement"—without activity they will not be happy!

* * * *

Praiseworthy Honours.

We have been delighted to learn that Natal University is to confer honorary doctorates on Prof. S. F. Oosthuizen of Pretoria University, Dr. Alan Taylor, superintendent of McCord's Zulu Hospital, Mr. Uys Krige, the author-poet, and the Hon. Richard Feetham. The university is to be commended on its selection and particularly on acknowledging the services of a missionary doctor, in the person of Dr. Alan Taylor, who has proved so worthy a successor of Dr. McCord.

* * * *

A Welcome Visitor—Dr. James Kelly.

The S.A. National Sunday School Association, which is the South African Unit of the World Council of Christian Education and Sunday School Association, announces that Dr. James Kelly, J.P., of Glasgow, will be visiting South Africa early in the New Year. Dr. James Kelly was for twenty-five years the General Secretary of the World Sunday School Association, now the World Council of Christian Education, retiring from that position a few years ago. He is now vice-chairman of the Council. Dr. Kelly has travelled extensively in many lands in the interest of Christian Education and Missionary development. He is also President of the Orphan Homes of Scotland, Bridge of Weir, Scotland, and the Colony for Epileptics. He was Chairman for eighteen years. He is also Chaplain and

serves in a voluntary capacity. Dr. Kelly is vice-president of the National Bible Society of Scotland, Chairman of the Glasgow Evangelistic Association and the Bible Training Institute, and serves on the Board of Directors of many missionary and youth organisations in Great Britain. He is a vice-president of the National Sunday School Union of England and Wales, and an ex-president of the Scottish Sunday School Union for Christian Education. Dr. Kelly will be attending the International Missionary Conference Assembly at Accra, Ghana, from December 28th to January 8th. He expects to be in South Africa from January 14th to February 5th. During that time Dr. Kelly will visit Johannesburg, Durban, Port Elizabeth, Lovedale and Cape Town. His activities in Christian service are wide and varied and he will, no doubt, find much to interest him. He will be accompanied by Mrs. Kelly to whom we also extend a warm welcome.

* * * *

The late Mrs. B. J. Ross.

It was with deep regret that many learned early in December that Mrs. Frances M. Ross, the widow of the late Rev. B. J. Ross of Cunningham Mission, Transkei, had passed away. To not a few it seems the closing of a chapter in Scottish missionary history.

In 1823 there arrived in the Tyume Valley the Rev. John Ross, who with remarkable foresight brought with him a printing-press, which was the forerunner of the Lovedale Press. John Ross never returned to Scotland, even on furlough, though he lived on, crowding the years with fine missionary service, till 1878.

He sent his two sons, Bryce and Richard, to Scotland for training, and both proved to be outstanding missionaries. Bryce was a scholar to the finger-tips and he left a large impress on the Xhosa Bible. Richard was a man of practical gifts, who, from his station—Cunningham—in Fingoland, Transkei, ranged far and wide, founding various notable missionary stations. In his last years Richard had as colleague his son, Brownlee John Ross, one of the most outstanding and versatile missionaries of his time. To the home at Cunningham Brownlee brought over sixty years ago his bride, a woman of unusual intellect and humanity, Frances Mary Douglas. She has outlived him for thirteen years, since he passed to his rest in 1944.

For the last ten years or so she knew much of bodily weakness, but the light of the mind remained bright to the last. The latest books on South African affairs seemed inevitably to flow to her bedside, her pen told numerous friends of the width of her interests, and her concern for "the good cause" remained unabated to the last. She was a notable example of how the wives of Scottish missionaries, brought up in an environment so different to the African veld, adapted themselves to an entire change of scene.

The Multi-Racial Conference and the next Step

By Dr. A. W. Blaxall

THE conference which was held in the Great Hall of the University of the Witwatersrand December 3rd-5th may be called a success although such a word is not really adequate to describe a gathering of that nature.

When the conference convened by the Interdenominational African Ministers' Federation, which met in Bloemfontein October, 1956, issued its famous statement it ended with an appeal to some organization to undertake the task of calling a similar gathering but on a wider basis. The call was heeded in many circles, partly because the need for mutual consultation and better understanding between the peoples of the different sections of South African society had long been felt.

But as is too often the case in such matters no one appeared adequate, or able to take the initiative. In the end during the winter of 1957 a group of independent people decided to ask the Inter. Afr. Min. Fed. to take the initiative again. They were at first reluctant, partly because they felt that the response might again be limited, and partly because of their lack of resources. In the end a group calling themselves sponsors offered to help them, and plans were set afoot. Invitations were issued on a wide basis, but it was made clear (a) that all who attended would do so in their personal capacities and (b) this conference would be exploratory.

The attendance turned out to be a really good cross section of South African life. From Church circles there were two Roman Catholic archbishops, one Anglican bishop and several clergy of all races, the president of the Methodist conference and a number of his colleagues, at least two Dutch Reformed Church ministers, and so on. From political groups there were several members of parliament and officials of the various non-white congresses. General welfare was represented by a number of leading social workers from all parts of the Union; there were university professors, business men; journalists, in fact it may be said that almost every walk of life was represented.

The procedure followed was that one subject only was discussed in plenary session alone, namely the introductory lectures on Human Relations given by the veteran president of IDAMF, the Rev. Z. R. Mahabane, and Prof. D. McCrone of the Wits. University.

All other subjects, which ranged from religious responsibility to economics, education, welfare, to pure politics, were discussed by commissions whose conclusions were presented to a plenary session, discussed and then issued as "findings."

A study of these various findings (full copies will soon be available) will reveal a high level of thinking. Inevitably

popular attention was focussed on the findings of the political groups, and much was made of the fact that the conference as a whole accepted that full, unqualified franchise must be the goal of South African democracy, although care was taken to emphasise that there was considerable difference of opinion as to how the goal would be reached. This was a little unfortunate as it tended to give the impression that this was the main pre-occupation of the conference which was in fact far from the case.

As one who has attended many and very varied conferences during the last quarter of a century in South Africa, I say without hesitation that this was as balanced and well planned as any it has been my privilege to share.

At the end the group of sponsors who carried out this task were asked to serve as a continuing committee, co-opting up to about 15/20 members. So far as financial resources become available this conference is asked to publish the report and findings and set up commissions on the lines of those who reported to the conference. These commissions to take further the findings and try to prepare them as the basis for a larger and wider conference to be called when it appears possible and wise to do so.

As the fiftieth anniversary of the historic National Convention draws near, and the launching of Union in 1910, it seems that groups of different kinds are forming to discuss national problems in a peaceful spirit. SABRA have already announced that they are calling a conference with those they regard as leaders of the non-white groups. It is much to be hoped that during the next year or two these various groups will really be drawn together by the common determination to build South Africa a free and prosperous land.

REPORT OF FINDINGS COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS IN A MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY

The Conference, after being opened by the Rev. Z. R. Mahabane, President of IDAMF, listened to an exposition by Prof. MacCrone of his paper "Human Relations in a Multi-Racial Society." One of his propositions set the tone for the first plenary discussion, namely that when a society consisted of a dominating group and a subordinate group, the reaction of the latter was invariably one of two, either submission to domination, or resistance to it, and this resistance sometimes expressed itself in a will to counter-domination.

The danger facing South Africa was that of a headlong collision between the forces of white domination and those of counter-domination. The Conference believed that

such a collision would be disastrous for the country, but it was equally convinced that a turning-point had been reached, where South Africa must choose between the concept of a common society, or a bitter conflict between these two wills to dominate, which could only result in collision.

The supporters of Apartheid do not hesitate to voice their fear that the desire of the black man was to drive the white man into the sea. This fear is as old as their first encounter. But the presence of 400 people in the Great Hall of the University was a proof that this was not the inevitable end. These 400 people were the representatives of millions of South Africans who did not desire such an end. But many of them testified that their respective groups stood at the crossroads, where the choice was between co-operation and irreconcilability.

Apartheid offers no solutions to this threatening impasse. It offers security to nobody. It condemns white South Africa to live out its historical span behind the walls of a fortress, and it condemns non-white South Africa to an unrelenting struggle to breach these walls. For both, ordinary life was becoming more and more impossible, and each was condemned to an unnatural life of increasing vigilance, anxiety and fear.

Conference believed that the days of white supremacy were past, and that it was completely outlawed by an overwhelming world opinion. South Africa must accept a political and economic structure that would eliminate these bitter conflicts. Conference believed that white South Africa had no adequate conception of the repugnance felt by non-white citizens towards the doctrines of apartheid, and that it had no conception of the sufferings and deprivations inflicted on its non-white fellows by apartheid legislation, of the ways in which they were harried by laws and officials during every moment of their lives. Those white people who tried to understand it were often rejected and made to suffer by their own community and many white people who were convinced of the injustices of apartheid laws, failed to oppose them because of their fear of ostracism and victimisation.

The point was made that the whole Nationalist philosophy was based on racial difference. But Conference regarded such differences as only incidental to a basic common humanity, on which foundation, and on that alone, just and peaceful policies could be based. This indeed was the teaching of the Christian religion, and non-white people were disillusioned when white people denied the values of the religion that they had taught to their fellows. Most white South Africans had a double standard; they responded to the teachings of Christ so long as they thought these did not contradict apartheid, white supremacy, white leadership or the many forms of racial discrimination. Non-white South Africa rejected this double stand-

ard; nor did it wish to return to the *status quo ante* 1948 to which many white South Africans hoped to return when the extreme policies of apartheid had been rejected.

The Conference recognised the depth of white fear of granting rights to non-white people, but noted that policies based on fear offered no real security to white people. On the contrary they heightened such fear, and drove white South Africa into more and more dangerous policies. Politicians played on these fears to seize political power. Conference wished to reassure white South Africa that it recognised the interdependence of white and non-white, and wished only to guarantee basic human rights of all people. Conference affirmed its allegiance to the aspirations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and suggested December 10, the anniversary of the Declaration, be observed as a new Day of Covenant offering security and hope to every inhabitant of multi-racial South Africa.

The plenary discussion, though firm and outspoken, was conspicuously lacking in bitterness, and was inspired by hope that a happier future was within the reach of all, provided that it was based, not on apartheid, but on a recognition of the rights of every South African, provided that the rights of none depended on the denial of those of others.

REPORT ON THE FINDINGS OF THE COMMISSION ON RELIGION

The following considerations emerged from the discussion on the responsibilities of religious communities in a multi-racial society:—

Religion brings human life to a real and practical communion with God the Eternal, and all religious faiths in a greater or lesser degree look upon human life as a direct creation of God, the Father of all mankind. From this universal standpoint follows immediately the conviction that all men are made in the image of God for a divine purpose, endowed with reason and free will, possessed therefore of an inviolable personal dignity, irrespective of race, colour or culture, and entrusted with duties and rights that have their source in God.

Religion is therefore vitally concerned with the essential equality of all men before God. Inequalities in development, even when they are based on the historical growth of human societies, are not ordained by the Divine Will as permanent features; rather they provide situations that are a challenge to the good will of men.

Religious communities confess the failure of their members to teach and implement fully in practice the brotherhood of man. They acknowledge the tendency to compromising and giving way to collective egoisms. If human life is directed to another and higher life, as most

religions assert, the greatest and most important reality is the person, and all historical or present obstacles raised in the way of the individual in striving for the goal of his higher life must be changed into opportunities towards that end, even through the acceptance of personal suffering.

When in a multi-racial society misunderstandings and prejudice tend to obscure fundamental truths, religious communities have a grave obligation to emphasise them and to train the moral judgment of their members in regard to duties of justice and charity. In the Divine command, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's," we have no statement of fully equal allegiance. Our first bond of obedience is to God, and our loyalty to the state is limited in its scope by the prior claims of this duty.

Conference recommends that religious communities make use of all available means to achieve the ends of moral education in social and racial matters, namely, the pulpit, the religious press, religious schools, classes and meetings; that reference be made to specific and concrete issues; that the situation of those depressed and frustrated by social injustice be brought home forcibly to the more fortunate; and that practical applications of inter-racial collaboration be fostered in worship, discussion, social exchanges and in charitable and cultural undertakings.

Conference believes that in this way religious communities will contribute their share to bringing about a change of heart and a change of social structure by peaceful methods, thus helping to embody what has been enunciated as fundamental truths in the life of South African society.

REPORT ON THE FINDINGS OF THE EDUCATIONAL COMMISSION

The Commission expresses its belief that education must seek to provide for the intellectual, emotional, spiritual and physical growth of every human being, without distinction of race. It must create such conditions that the native abilities of all people can thrive and come to fulfilment.

The Commission therefore endorses Articles 26 and 27(1) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Article 26 :

1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship

among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27 (1).

Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

With specific reference to South Africa's present and future the Commission rejects current educational policies which seek to perpetuate white domination, accentuate ethnic differences and resuscitate tribal nationalism. The Commission further rejects unracial formulation of educational policy. The Commission deplores the use of mother tongue education for political ends. It rejects the Bantu Education Act, the Separate Universities Bill, the Nursing Amendment Act, the proposals of the Cape Commission for separate Coloured Education and finally the narrow sectionalism of certain parts of the Christian National Education programme.

Further, the Commission affirms its faith in the common destiny of the various racial elements which comprise the South African nation and believes that the fundamental social aim of our education should be to promote a common patriotism, common citizenship and the welding of the various elements into a single nation-state. Because we visualize the creation in South Africa of a peaceful multi-racial society, we believe that it will be necessary to encourage the multi-racial classroom and to end compulsory segregation in schools. As a start in this direction, we feel that private schools should be permitted to admit children of all races, if they so desire.

We earnestly recommend to the Conference that a Continuing Committee on Education be set up which shall investigate *inter alia* :

- (a) how rapidly education can be made compulsory for all children;
- (b) how most effectively and speedily adult illiteracy can be ended and the general education of adults extended;
- (c) how the present inequalities of educational opportunities can most speedily be reduced.

(Other more detailed recommendations made by the various educational commissions will be made available to the Continuing Committee in the event of such a body being set up.)

REPORT ON THE FINDINGS OF THE COM- MISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS AND DUTIES IN A MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY

- 1. We believe that any good society must guarantee

civil rights to its citizens, and that these civil rights are fundamental to human freedom.

2. Such rights, as upheld in democratic societies, and affirmed in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, include: freedom of speech and association; the right to publish opinions; the right to own and occupy property; freedom of worship and conscience; freedom from arbitrary arrest and banishment; freedom of movement—including travel and passport rights; freedom to choose a marriage partner and to found a family; the privacy of the home and of correspondence; the right to equal protection of the laws. We recognise that these rights must be exercised with regard to the rights of others, and in the interests of the whole community.

3. To deny these rights to any group in the nation is to prevent men from living a free and dignified life, in harmony with society. The result is resentment and frustration; and a sense of oppression which if not remedied, can lead to rebellion.

4. To withhold civil rights, for reasons of race or colour or creed, is a violation of moral principles and civilised standards. To try to limit such rights to one racial group, in a multi-racial society must lead ultimately to the limitation of the rights of all.

5. The effect on the dominant group is the destruction of the values of their society, with a tacit reliance on force to maintain their dominance. The effect on the subordinate groups may be to encourage resistance or the will to counter-domination, or slavish submission to the state.

6. These general statements have detailed and practical application to our South African society. Since the Act of Union, a variety of restrictive laws have been passed, which limit or withhold civil rights, and which have reached a crescendo in the apartheid laws. Some of these laws have curtailed the personal freedom of the governing group. Their essential purpose has been, however, to apply restraints, prohibitions and racial discriminations to the non-white groups. If these laws are maintained and extended, the moral, material and intellectual decay of our total society will inevitably result. In the subordinate group, arrests for technical offences—which under full civil rights would not be offences at all—are so numerous that imprisonment has tended to lose its stigma. The effect of this is to diminish respect for the law, which is often seen as the instrument of racial domination; and a resultant instability and insecurity in our society as a whole.

7. The remedy is the repeal of all laws denying or restricting civil rights. In addition, the basic freedoms, to which every individual in a democratic society is entitled, should be entrenched in a written constitution, through a bill of rights. Such a constitution would require the assent of all citizens, and would involve the calling of a new

National Convention, representative of all races in South Africa.

8. The ultimate entrenchment of civil rights is not, however, dependent only upon law. It requires the vigilance of all citizens, and their knowledge and determination that if they allow any breach in civil rights, at the expense of one group, they endanger the rights of all.

The Commission, as a practical recommendation, advises: That a standing committee be elected by the conference:

(a) to publicise the pernicious effects of the denial of civil rights involved in the pass and other discriminatory laws, and the effect of these laws upon all sections of the people;

(b) to encourage united opposition to laws withholding civil rights, in order to bring about the repeal of these laws.

REPORT ON THE FINDINGS OF THE COMMISSION ON ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND DUTIES IN A MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY

This Commission assumes that economic advance is important, that poverty is an evil and tends to breed evil, and that therefore it is the duty of the state to take the necessary measures to put an end to poverty. This cannot be done by way of doles and subsidies, but only by securing to every member of the community equal justice and an equal right to live and work. Everyone should have the right to earn his living in any legitimate way, according to his skill and ability. He should also have the right to acquire and hold full and secure possession of land. This would require a more equitable distribution of land. In time this would make possible the eventual disappearance of the reserve system, with its implication of territorial separation of the races.

A just economic policy must be based on the right of each member of the community, without discrimination or limitation, to develop to the full, and use in any legitimate way, his capacity and abilities. This implies that all colour bars in industry should be abolished. The belief that there is only a limited pool of jobs makes white workers think that the colour bar is necessary for their protection. It is felt that the entry of new competitors into that labour pool would mean a loss of their jobs and a reduction in their standard of living. This is an unfounded fear. If our land, with its natural resources, were made available for full use by all our peoples, our economy would expand with full opportunity for everyone in town and country, in agriculture and industry, to employ himself or to be employed to his full capacity. The colour bar denies to those excluded by it their inherent natural right to be able

to use their talents fully. Such a denial is unjust and cannot be defended on any moral or economic ground.

It is essential in a growing community that the economy of the country should be an expanding one. At present in the Union, such expansion is gravely hampered by the colour bar and by restrictive legislation, such as the Group Areas Act, the Pass Laws and influx control, and generally the interference with the mobility of workers.

Any legal obstacles in the way of the worker's freedom to choose his own calling should be abolished, particularly those which interfere with :—

- (a) his right to be trained as an apprentice or otherwise ;
- (b) his right to combine with others in trade unions for the protection of his interests ; and

(c) his right to withhold his labour.

The system of using migrant labour is unsocial and uneconomic, and dangerous to the welfare of the country. Every effort should be made to provide for a stable family life for the worker near his place of work.

Provision for social welfare should be available for all without racial discrimination. Apartheid imposes a crippling cost on the economy of the country.

To sum up. The aim should be to remove all discriminatory restrictions based on the colour of the worker and all other obstacles in the way of production as soon as possible, and the State encouraged to allow the expansion of the economy of the country to take its natural course.

Congregational Assembly

REPORT OF THE PUBLIC QUESTIONS DEPARTMENT

By Basil H. M. Brown, Convener

SELDOM has the conscience of a country been more deeply stirred over any matter of public concern in recent years, than has been the case in South Africa in connection with the notorious "Church" clause of the Native Laws Amendment Act. In face of flagrant interference on the part of the State in the realm of religion, and in curtailing the freedom of worship and the God-given right of the unrestricted fellowship of God's children in His House, one by one, spontaneously and firmly, the recognised Churches raised their voice in vigorous protest, stating clearly and categorically that if this clause became law, the Churches would have no other alternative than to obey God rather than man, and to disregard the law.

Our own statement which was among the first to be issued, stated *inter alia* : "We claim that no Minister of State has any moral right to tell us when, or where, or with whom, we shall meet together as a company of God's people. . . . We claim that the right of free access to God is a God-given right and therefore beyond the sanction and control of the State. If the State seeks to force a sub-Christian ethic upon the Church, the Church will be forced into the position of disregarding the law, in loyalty to conscience. . . . We will not render unto Caesar the things that are God's."

In response to nationwide concern, the Christian Council convened a Conference of Church leaders, which strongly re-iterated what the individual denominations had said with no uncertain voice, independently of one another. Taking its stand upon the basic principle of religious freedom, won at considerable cost through the centuries, the Conference declared that the denial of freedom of worship and association, and the enforcement of

compulsory apartheid, in any sphere of our life, was a denial of the law of God and a repudiation of the teaching of Jesus Christ, and gave warning that the Christian Churches would be forced to disregard any laws or regulations which infringed this basic principle.

As a result of these, and other pressures, the Minister of Native Affairs found himself compelled to modify the original clause, though he in no way altered its basic principle, and it is this amendment (Clause 29(c) of the Act) which has now become the law of the land. Opposing the amendment, the Christian Council Action Committee claimed that while it altered procedure and imposed certain restrictions on the Minister, it did not alter in any way the dangerous principle of State interference in religion. It still gave arbitrary powers of control to the Minister, to close doors which many solemnly believed God had made open. In fact, it became more objectionable in that it penalised the African worshipper rather than the Church as a whole. And again there came that solemn warning : "If this becomes law, we shall be forced to disregard it."

Through the Action Committee, a last minute effort was made, first, to persuade the Minister to withdraw this offending clause, and then, to seek the intervention of the Prime Minister, but to no avail, and the Church Clause in its amended form has become the law of South Africa, to the deep concern and shame of all freedom loving people. In its present form, however, the Minister must have the approval of the local authority in order to implement its terms, and we therefore urge upon Christian men and women in every town in the Union, to bring all the force of Christian public opinion to bear upon their own local

authorities to see that as far as their area is concerned, that approval will not be lightly given.

In line with the advice given to its member Churches by the Christian Council, it is our intention to continue to function in exactly the way we have always done, holding our multi-racial meetings and services where and when we have customarily held them, conducting our Assemblies and District Association meetings, and doing the business of the Church, as a company of God's people, irrespective of colour or race, recognising that there are times in human history, in the destiny of nations, and in personal experience, when it is necessary to obey the Law of God, rather than the laws of men, to stand by the inner voice of conscience, rather than by the outer voice of man-made decrees.

Another matter of considerable concern to the Christian Churches is a new directive from the Department of Native Affairs to local authorities, intimating that it is now accepted government policy to plan locations on ethnic lines, and that in future, Church sites must be planned and allocated on that basis too. Apart from the three major Churches (Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk, Methodist Church, and Church of the Province) to whom the granting of sites is automatic, sites will be allocated only to Churches that can prove a membership of 100 baptised Christians of a particular ethnic group. Where Churches have members of various ethnic groups in the same location, they will presumably have to provide a building for each group, and then only if they can prove that they have the requisite numbers of members in each group. What happens to existing members of the Church who are to be sub-divided in this manner and for whom sites cannot be allocated, because their numbers fall below 100, is not explained. We feel we should most vigorously protest against this further inroad made by the State in Church affairs, and this inexplicable attempt to divide one group of African Christians from another. Surely there is already far too much divisiveness in our national life. We are also unhappy concerning the principle of granting sites automatically to certain Churches because of their size, without providing similar consideration to other long established, if smaller, Churches. It is quite conceivable that one of these larger Churches may have quite a small membership in a given location, but it is granted a site automatically, whereas one of the smaller denominations with a larger membership in that area may have to wait months for their application to proceed through the normal channels, and may even have to wait years to bring its proved membership beyond the 100 mark.

Considerable feeling has been aroused all over the country by the implementation of the policy of issuing passes or reference books to African women. We wonder whether the Government appreciates the deep sense of

hurt and resentment that this extension of the pass system has occasioned among the African people. And this is but one phase of a great mass of bewildering, restrictive, controlling and limiting laws with which the life of the African is hedged about in South Africa to-day. The Minister of Justice has loudly protested against references to this land we love, as a "police state," but it is difficult to see how to many a non-white man and woman, it can ever be anything else, as long as his freedom of movement and self-expression is so severely curtailed, as long as the State decrees where he shall work and in what job, where he shall live and where he shall not live, what he shall learn at school and what he shall not learn, what university he shall attend, if any, what property rights he shall have, and where, what Church he shall worship in and what Church he shall not worship in, and with what people he shall be free to associate. How little way do we seem to have travelled along the road of freedom, which is one of the basic principles of our Christian tradition.

Last year at our Assembly, great concern was expressed at the many hardships caused all over the country by the implementation of the Group Areas Act, and a resolution was passed, urging the Government, on humanitarian grounds, to withhold further action in view of the suffering and distress caused to many families by this tampering with long established residential traditions. It is with regret that we report that the process of evacuation in areas like Albertville continues, with quite inadequate compensation in most instances, and totally unsuitable alternative accommodation. We would again assert our conviction that this Act is unchristian in principle and that it is being administered always to the disadvantage of the non-white section of the population. It is, to say the least, perplexing, to sincere and thinking people, that a Government which gives ear to an inconspicuous minority concerning some secondary problems caused by certain inoffensive nudes on a building in Pretoria, should fail to hear the voice of the Churches about vital matters that affect the very lifeblood of our country and the wellbeing and happiness of her people.

In the realm of Coloured Education has come the proposal adopted by the Cape Provincial Council, that Coloured Education be taken under the control of the central Government. As a Church long associated with the education of the Coloured people, we feel we have a right to speak in this matter, and strong representations have been made to the Administrator and the Superintendent General of Education recommending that there be no change. It is hoped that a conference of all churches concerned with Coloured education may be called shortly.

It is with concern that we note the intention of the Government to close the doors of the two open universities

to non-European students. We feel that there is no better level at which race tensions can be resolved and healthy race relationships formed, than in the academic sphere, and we have yet to be convinced that keeping an open door to learning for all who would come, either constitutes a problem, or warrants restrictive legislation. It is a matter for regret, too, that race divisions have been forced upon the S.A. Nursing Council, especially in view of the harmony and understanding which has been built up in that body through the years. It is a sad picture indeed when in South Africa we are getting to the pass of asking "What colour was the Good Samaritan?" or "Of what race was the stricken victim?" before we can embark upon an errand of mercy.

We note with concern for the children in some areas, that the School Feeding Scheme has been abandoned in Bantu Schools and that from April 1st next year, it will cease in all the schools of the Cape Province. The Executive has been asked by your Department to make representations to both authorities with a view to a reconsideration of the matter, especially in cases of known need.

As instructed by last Assembly, your Department was again responsible for organising the Week of Prayer for our country from August 18th to 25th, and the theme this year centred round the Christian Ideal of Freedom.

Assembly Resolutions.—This 97th Annual Assembly of the Congregational Union of South Africa, meeting in Durban, in October, 1957, hereby resolves:

1. To protest most strongly against the terms of Clause 29(c)—the Church clause—of the Native Laws Amendment Act, as being contrary to the principle of religious freedom and the right of Churches to self-determination in matters of worship and association. We cannot concede the right of the State to interfere in Christian worship, or of a Minister of State, or a local authority, or both, to tell us with whom we should worship in the freedom of God's House. In matters of conflict between conscience and law, for the Christian there is only one true loyalty. If we would be true to God as we know Him in Jesus Christ, we have no other course but to go on doing what we believe is right.

2. To protest to the Minister of Native Affairs concerning his directive to local authorities regarding Church sites in locations. We feel that the process of granting sites automatically to certain Churches because of their size, is wrong in principle, and gives these Churches undue advantages over other churches who in certain areas may have a greater claim for consideration. We are also strongly opposed to the principle of ethnic grouping in the field of religion and worship. We further recommend that this matter be taken up by the Christian Council for discussion and negotiation with the Minister and his Department.

3. To re-iterate our very deep concern at the hardship and personal suffering occasioned to many Coloured, Indian and African families through the implementation and administration of the Group Areas Act. We feel that it is both inhumane and unchristian, to force many of the most law-abiding, and, at the same time, least articulate section of our population, to face this ruthless uprooting of home, and association, and tradition.

4. To confirm the action of the Executive in making representations to the Administrator of the Cape Province, urging that there be no change in the administration of Coloured Education. We believe that education for the Coloured community is part of the total scheme of education and should not be lightly divorced from it. The Cape Education Department has built up a wide experience and sympathetic understanding of this aspect of education, and we feel strongly that it should remain under its aegis and control.

5. To support representations to the Minister of Native Affairs and the Administrator of the Cape Province, concerning the cessation of School Feeding Schemes in schools under their control, and to urge that consideration be given to continuing the Scheme in cases of need, especially among Coloured and African children.

6. To protest against the introduction of apartheid in the open universities, as being detrimental to the well-being of the country in the realm of developing healthy and sound race attitudes.

7. To state clearly and unequivocally that the denial of freedom of worship and association, and the enforcement of compulsory apartheid in so many spheres of our national life, with its inevitable curtailment of personal freedom and its denial of basic values and rights, is a denial of the law of God, and a repudiation of the teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ.

A lady once ventured to send Mr. Gladstone a form of prayer she had composed and published, supplicating that his Home Rule scheme might be frustrated. The statesman replied: "It is a great satisfaction to agree with you, as I feel confident that I must do, in the conviction that of prayers we cannot possibly have too much in this great matter, and for my own part I heartily desire that, unless the policy I am proposing be for the honour of God and the good of His creatures, it may be trampled under foot and broken into dust. Of your most charitable thoughts and feelings towards me I am deeply sensible."

—Anon.

Sursum Corda

LOOKING BACK—AN OLD YEAR MESSAGE

By R. H. W. Shepherd, D.D.

"Thou shalt remember all the way which the Lord thy God led thee," Deut. VIII. 2.

IT is one of the marks of human beings that they can look back. It would appear that animals do not have this power. Burns in his poem, "To a Mouse," compares himself with that little creature and suggests that as a human he is less fortunate.

*"Still thou art bless'd compar'd wi' me,
The present only toucheth thee,
But och, I backward cast my e'e,
On prospects drear."*

It is true that the looking back can sometimes be a painful business. There are tragic possibilities in it. There are memories that "bless and burn"

A generation or two ago a man, Hale White, wrote a remarkable series of books under the pen-name of "Mark Rutherford." In one of them, "The Deliverance," he pictures a man in middle life looking back. He says: "Happy is the man, no matter what his lot may be otherwise, who sees some tolerable realisation of the design he has set before him in his youth or in his earlier manhood. Many there are who, through no fault of theirs, know nothing but mischance or defeat. Either sudden calamity overturns in tumbling ruins all that they had painfully toiled to build, and success for ever afterwards is irrecoverable, or, what is more frequent, each day brings its own special hindrance in the sphere of ill-health, failure of power or poverty.... The youth with his dreams wakes up some morning and finds himself fifty years old with not one solitary achievement, with nothing properly learned, with nothing properly done, with an existence consumed in mean, miserable, squalid cares."

Sometimes the looking back fills one with regret because of one's own blindness. Someone walked by our side, but we were blind to his merit, or at least did not comprehend it fully. Lord Cockburn wrote of Sir Walter Scott after Sir Walter had died: "When he was among us we thought we worshipped him.... And now that he is gone we feel as if we had not enjoyed or cherished him half enough."

Sometimes one meets a person who says: "If I were back at school I would act in a different way. When I was at school I had the opportunity of a good education, but I had no desire for it, and so I just idled, and left school as soon as possible. I don't have the position to-day I might have had if my desire had been equal to my opportunity."

I read recently of an old man who looked back over his life, and this was his comment: "When I was young I longed for many things, but I had not the opportunity of getting them. Now I am old, I have the opportunity, but I have not the longing."

The Bible with its closeness to life did not miss this aspect of human experience. The patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob all looked back. They let memory do its work, they gathered up life's experience, and they sought to tell those coming after what the looking back had taught. Moses has much to say of all this: "Thou shalt remember all the way the Lord thy God led thee."

Jesus told the overwhelming parable of Dives, the man lapped in luxury, and Lazarus, the beggar full of sores, lying at the rich man's gate. They both died, and in the life beyond Dives was told, "Son, remember, that thou in thy lifetime received thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things: but now he is comforted and thou art tormented." "Son, remember—look back and think."

In the Parable of the Last Judgment we see a great stirring up of memory, bringing home to some how they had neglected to minister to the Lord in the persons of His poor.

Judas after his foul deed looked back, and his eyes were opened. "I have sinned," he said, "in that I have betrayed the innocent blood."

But in the New Testament all the looking back is not regretful. When Jesus instituted the Lord's Supper He said, "This do in remembrance of Me," teaching His disciples to look back in memory, love, prayer and worship.

St. Paul near the end of his life looked at the way by which he had come, and all his toil and self-denial, all his care for others and especially for the Churches, all his experiences that had left their mark upon him—and it all led him to say (and he had good cause to say it), "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith." He looked back in a great serenity of mind.

What does it all teach, this looking back? I think we may say it teaches at least three things.

I. The failures of the past we can leave to God's mercy.

Over almost every aspect of life lie shadows as well as glints of sunshine. Existence is a mixture of the good and the bad, of health and decay, of success and failure. Someone has said: "When you reach the evening of your days, you will, I think, see.... that we are all failures,

at least all the best of us." Another of the sayings of Mark Rutherford was, "Christianity is essentially the religion of the unknown and the lonely, of those who are not a success."

How true all that is! None of us with any sense of proportion can escape the feeling that in this and in that we have failed. In regard to these things each heart knoweth its own bitterness. But it is just here that the Gospel, which is good news—not good advice—comes for our help. The Christian Faith is the Faith that constantly speaks of new beginnings, of situations of failure into which God enters with renewing, forgiving, healing force. In the Book of Jeremiah there are many beautiful images, and one of the most beautiful is where the prophet says: "I went down to the potter's house, and, behold, he wrought a work on the wheels. And the vessel that he made of clay was marred in the hand of the potter: so he made it again another vessel, as seemed good to the potter to make it." The Christian Faith constantly confronts us with failures that God takes in hand and refashions anew.

Dr. H. E. Fosdick has just published his autobiography. He is now 78 and in retirement, after his great life as a preacher whose words have gone to the ends of the earth. He contends that his chief work has been done, not in the pulpit, but as a personal counsellor. Large numbers of people consulted him when they were in desperate religious and moral straits. And he recalls instance after instance of miracles he had witnessed as a result of Christian truth being brought to bear on individual lives, completely changing failures into successes. His summing up is: "Now in my elder years, I am even more convinced than I was at the beginning that the truths about God and man, about right and wrong, for which the Gospel stands, are man's indispensable necessity."

Over all human situations, human failure, human need, human sin, broods the forgiving love of God and His longing to make a new creation. The heart of the matter is contained in the words, "Who is a God like unto Thee that pardoneth iniquity... Thou wilt cast all their sins into the depths of the sea."

As we look back, the failures of the past we can leave to God's mercy.

II. The good that comes to comfort we can take pleasure in, and thank God for.

As they look back, how conscious many are of the goodness and mercy that have followed them.

In hours of recollection what tender scenes come trooping to the mind! Do you ever sit down and go over the years, recalling your early and your latter homes, recalling too this one and that one outside the family circle who has been your friend?

Many years ago I came on something in a magazine which I cut out and retained. It was an anonymous note, and it ran thus:

"There is something about the darkness of a winter morning that never fails to impress me. Often I have risen early for the express purpose of going out while it was yet dark. One such morning I remember very clearly. I had been at home and was returning to my business with an early train. By some accident I rose an hour too soon and I had time to talk with my mother before I left. All day the memory of that conversation haunted me. We talked about nothing in particular, but the picture of that charming room with the bright fire and my mother sitting opposite me among all the things she loved will be a treasured memory for all time. I never saw her again, for two days later she died. Somehow I realised that that quiet hour in the winter darkness was to have a special significance and so it turned out. Again during that hour I looked upon the face of God. My mother spoke neither with the tongues of men nor of angels; she had neither the gift of prophecy nor the understanding of all mysteries, but she had charity, and that was all she required. The memory of her is enshrined in my heart for evermore."

I can well believe that a passage like that finds an echo in many hearts.

A man who made his mark in literature, when life's evening came, wrote the lines:

"Come, enter now and let us close the door.
Night's quiet curtain on the bright world falls
Vainly, for round me on familiar walls,
Life's scenes hang pictures, in abundant store...
Old age, I find, is but a coming home.
Dear scenes, dear loved ones, cluster round,
And all the treasures gathered by the way.
Life's ardour cooled, I would no longer roam,
But dwell with these awhile, and then sleep sound,
And wake all fresh and eager for the Day."

The good that comes to comfort we can thank God for, and we can say, This God is our God for ever and ever; He will be our guide even unto death.

III. We can believe that the future will retain what has been gained of good.

Sometimes we walk by faith, sometimes by sight. Yes, sometimes by sight, even in this aspect of life. John Henry Newman, who had so strange and often disappointing a career, was accustomed to say in old age that God had answered all his prayers. A great Scots medical man of last century declared that some of his experiences in early life had seemed to him intolerable, but as he looked back on them in later days he saw that these were the happenings that he simply could not have done without. Sometimes

indeed we walk by sight ; for us the saying is fulfilled, " At evening time it shall be light."

Sometimes, however, as we look back we must still walk by faith. If you stand at a cloth-weaver's loom, even when a beautiful design is being wrought, you may think it unattractive, even ugly. If you said so to the weaver, probably the answer would be given, " You're looking at the wrong side. The design is below and hidden. When the work is finished and the cloth comes out, you will see the beautiful thing that has been made."

God works often in that fashion. We cannot follow His design. But when the weaving of our web of life is

finished, He will produce, by His grace, something that may astonish by its beauty. We shall see that all the good we gained has been saved up for us. Nothing is lost.

*With mercy and with judgment
My web of time He wove,
And aye the dews of sorrow
Were lustered by His love.
I'll bless the hand that guided,
I'll bless the heart that planned,
When throned where glory dwelleth
In Immanuel's land.*

"The University in Africa"

Inaugural Address by Prof. H. Jac. Rousseau, University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

ANYONE who knows Prof. Rousseau will open this neat brochure, published by the Oxford Press*, with a lively expectation, for Prof. Rousseau on education is nothing if not stimulating. In this lecture upon his entry upon duty as the first Professor of Education at the newly-founded University College in Central Africa, he has not confined himself to the specialist discipline which is his particular care in the university, but has ranged widely over the whole field of university studies and activities, as he is well qualified by experience and travel to do. He is an Afrikaans-speaking alumnus of the University of Cape Town where he graduated with distinction in Arts and Education. He has had actual teaching experience in schools for Europeans and Africans, and has taken post-graduate studies at the University of London. He was Professor and Head of the Department of Education at Fort Hare, and has visited schools in the United Kingdom, the continent of Europe, the United States, and in many regions of Africa. He spent several years in the Middle East as a British Council agent in charge of an experimental school for the training of teachers in Iraq. This wide experience is not obtruded, but to the seeing eye is easily detectable in this address. It is also evident that Prof. Rousseau was conscious of the unique opportunity which the opening of a new university college for people of all races in Central Africa gave him, and in his survey of the growth of university education, allusive though it had to be in the time available, as well as by his forward-looking tentative probing of what such a type of education may mean for Central Africa, he must have led his students to a fresh conception of the whole purpose for which the College was founded.

It is a well-balanced survey and prospect he gives, but the main theme emerges quite clearly in an approved quo-

tation from a well-known British educationist, Sir Walter Moberly, who, as chairman of the Universities Grants Committee, has had a great influence upon the development of the newer universities in the United Kingdom. "The understanding which we want to develop by education" says Moberly, "is an understanding of an insistent present. The only use of a knowledge of the past is to equip us for the present.... Ideas which are not used are positively harmful." So Professor Rousseau concludes that the first duty of every university, but above all of a new university in Africa (and all universities in Africa outside of Egypt are more or less "new") is to examine what are the basic needs of wise living in the community it serves, and to ensure that the young leaders it is training are capable of meeting those needs. So Dr. Rousseau plumps for a combination of occupational and cultural aims as the objective of university education and quotes in support the phrase of a well-known commentator on "Redbrick" universities—"the union of scholarship and vocational ideals in service." But Professor Rousseau cannot resist one or two cracks at some of his favourite targets such as grammar, latin and "pure" mathematics, which would be more in focus if school curricula rather than university studies were under discussion, or at the theory of the transfer of training, which, thrown out at the door, somehow always seems to come back by the window.

Dr. Rousseau insists that universities must be catholic and teach their students to be physically fit and healthy, to earn a living by serving the community, to train their minds and evolve a philosophy of life with a code of values, to be alive to and informed about human problems, and to develop a balanced personality by the enjoyment of beauty in music, painting, literature, drama and nature.

But he also realises that even the university student can master no more than a fraction of human knowledge, so

* Oxford University Press : 3/-

that "widely branching basic skills, attitudes and principles must be consciously developed"—all this to be taught and learned in an atmosphere of freedom and openmindedness, especially in areas of thought where passions tend to run high. "We can never know the final truth and must never pretend that we do. The university hovers on the borders of the unknown in a spirit of enquiry—and of faith. With faith in God our Father and all men our brothers, vital, adventurous, and unafraid, eager to live

and to learn, we march towards whatever may happen in our lives and whatever knowledge we may unearth." The whole of this address might with great profit be read by all interested in teaching anybody anything, and if pondered in our faculties of education might clarify many topics upon which many words have been written and even yet will continue to be spoken and written.

A.K.

The Suburban African

SABRA CONFERENCE DISCUSSIONS

THE July quarterly journal of the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs reported on the eighth annual congress of the Bureau which was attended by 300 persons representing 53 municipalities, 33 churches, 17 cultural organisations, 11 universities, colleges and student organisations, 13 other bodies and 8 state departments. The opening by the Hon. Dr. Wm. Nicol, administrator of the Transvaal, gave him the opportunity of reviewing what was being done for the health of Africans. He stated that provincial and mission hospitals maintained 22,311 beds for them. Over 2,000 African nurses were in training and the Transvaal provincial administration alone was expecting to spend £7,100,000 a year on African patients. He justified the subsidising of mission hospitals on the grounds that it is the wish of the people of South Africa that the Africans should be evangelised. Moreover, the missions established hospitals in isolated areas, worked more cheaply and provided a better atmosphere for character-building in the training of nurses. In closing his address, he stated that no provincial administration could pretend that it was doing enough for the Africans but at the same time the hospital services for the Europeans were not fully satisfactory either.

The chairman of SABRA, Rev. W. A. Landman, welcomed the delegates and reviewed the main events of the past year. He mentioned the greater interest that the United States of America was taking in Africa, and on turning to South African affairs, referred to the removal of the Coloured voters from the common roll. He expressed the hope that the Coloured Affairs Department would meet success in making a place for the Coloured people as an adjunct to the White group. He appreciated the challenge of the Tomlinson report and commented on the conferences held at Bloemfontein firstly by Europeans in June 1956 and then by Africans in October 1956 on the report. The former conference had found that integration would increase racial tension and he passed on the criticism of the African conference that the members

seemed to believe that Africans were the only people who had a right to live in South Africa.

The manager of the Health Commission for rural areas, Mr. C. H. Kotze, delivered a lecture on the suburban African to the congress. He stated that by 1938 the uncontrolled establishment of African villages in areas outside the reserves and yet not within municipalities had been recognised as worthy of investigation by a government commission. He pointed out that municipalities were formed only when the number of Europeans justified the cost and consequently the life of the African workers attached to the Europeans was not controlled by any administration. Often mines and factories were started in rural areas where no municipal control existed and the African labourers created a housing and squatters problem. Sometimes farmers living near towns hired one labourer in a family at a low wage and charged rental for housing the main wage-earner who drew a much higher wage in the nearby town. Soon farm squatters-camps grew up outside municipal control. Then there were the townsmen who owned a small allotment outside the town where an African family is housed in exchange for watching over the property which is bought as a speculation. There are 202,000 such allotments in the Union and they are usually outside the control of the administration. Up to about 1952 many municipalities did not have the income to provide even sub-economic housing for the Africans working within the municipality either from the rates or from the rental; so they shut their eyes to squatters. The cutting up of rural mission lands into plots and the erection of houses in close proximity to each other without any municipal control led to chaotic conditions of overcrowding and a lack of health services. The same thing happened on areas under the Native Trust lands that were near towns.

In some provinces there were no legally recognised administrative bodies before 1952 which could tackle these problems. Unemployed and undesirable Africans left

the controlled areas in the towns to live in the uncontrolled rural areas.

DIVISIONAL COUNCILS

With all this uncontrolled activity going on it might be asked what the divisional councils were doing. Cape Town established the first divisional council in 1855 and its function in the Cape was recognised in the South Africa Act of 1909. The functions and composition of the Cape divisional councils were only clearly defined in 1952. While functioning more or less like municipalities, only three divisional councils have formed committees dealing particularly with problems connected with the Africans in the division and usually the overburdened secretary-cum-treasurer has had to worry about the problems of Africans drifting into the area. The Cape Divisional Council is expected to control 700 square miles.

In the Transvaal Health Committees for Rural Areas were established in 1943 to serve under a Health Council of six members appointed by the Administrator. 26 such committees serve 8,000 square miles. Natal has a 3 member Health Committee appointed by the Administrator and functioning from Pietermaritzburg with local advisory bodies as municipalities outside the cities and towns. In the Orange Free State there are three committees for the control of small holdings, formed under an ordinance passed in 1954.

CONTROL LEGISLATION

Mr. Kotze then reviewed the legislation that had been passed in South Africa to deal with the problems that arose from the settlement of Africans in suburban areas. Starting with laws as early as Natal Ordinance No. 2 of 1855 he gave an exposition of the relative portions of some 15 Acts dealing with Native Labour, Native Land, Slums, Native Townships, Squatters, Masters and Servants, Service Contracts and finally Group Areas. Under all these acts the life and movements of an African family could be controlled. Despite all these laws the control of the life of the suburban African was not complete and it was recommended that a distinction should be made in the laws dealing with farm labourers between the big farm, the intensive farm and the allotment. Some of those laws appeared to be in conflict with the Liquor Act of 1928.

HOUSING

The speaker went on to deal with the housing of the suburban African. Towns established before 1953 were responsible for housing any Africans employed within them. But since 1953 no African township could be established in proximity to a European town without the town's co-operation. This would allow African housing to be arranged separately from European housing. Thus certain divisional councils in the Cape had united in estab-

lishing a district location to which all homeless African could be drafted. In the Transvaal the Health committees of certain municipalities formed a district location. The Kaalfontein location is controlled by Germiston municipality on behalf of seven local authorities. In another area the Health Commission controls a location that serves a rural area as well as two municipalities. The speaker pointed to the need for establishing locations for labourers in intensive farms and allotments, places that would provide schools, cemeteries, church and sporting facilities. He recommended that the squatter system be abolished on the Transvaal farms within 10 miles of a town and that such farms should be treated in the same way as the mines, which are not allowed to house more than 3 per cent of their labourers as complete families.

THE ILLEGAL SQUATTER

By 1951 the shanty towns outside Johannesburg and Pretoria had increased the problem of squatting to such proportions that the Native Affairs Department felt forced to step in. Alternative housing only appeared in 1954 in Pretoria and in 1956 in Johannesburg, but since then 40,000 squatters had been rehoused in Pretoria and the same number in Johannesburg. About 10,000 shanties were destroyed in the process. Problems that arose were the disappearance of squatters on whom notice of removal had been served and the transfer of non-earning persons like widows, the chronic sick and cripples to Native Trust areas. The compensation of people who had borrowed from Building Societies and spent more than £1,000 on a home was difficult of solution. To cover re-payment of loans illegal sub-letting took place and removal created much antagonism against the European government. The solution seemed to be the purchase of such properties at market value.

THE FINAL PROBLEM

The administration of suburban African life in the Union is still young and the problems arising are great. As time goes on closer co-operation among municipalities, divisional councils and the Native Affairs Department will be required to guide race relations in this matter into proper channels.

HOUSING THE URBAN AFRICAN

The SABRA Congress was also addressed by Mr. W. Bührmann, chairman of the National Housing and Planning Commission. His subject was the housing of the Urban African. He started with a statement that before 1939 only a small percentage of the African population was urban, that most unskilled labour was migratory and that no national policy had been worked out for the development of urban townships for Africans. Industries had caused the Africans to flock to the towns and the result was

overcrowded slum conditions and shanty towns. In 1950 the Housing Commission declared its policy that Africans should build their own houses on lease-hold land, that losses in connection with the housing of Africans should be avoided by building houses suitable to the income of the African and that shanty towns should be eliminated by providing temporary housing under proper control. The implementation of this policy meant the planning of a type of house the African with low wages could afford, close co-operation with the local authorities, speeding up of the elimination of shanty towns, obtaining land for African townships and the training of African building teams for large scale building schemes.

SUB-ECONOMIC HOUSING

One of the stumbling blocks to housing the urban African adequately was the growing losses incurred by municipalities and the state in sub-economic housing schemes. By 1948 the state was losing £200,000 p.a. This sum grew by 1950 to £733,000 and would represent an annual average loss of £500,000 for 40 years under the terms of the loans of the state to the municipalities. The method of subsidising housing had to be changed and some radical changes were necessary in planning houses.

The Council for Scientific and Industrial Research evolved a type of house providing the minimum requirements for healthy living. The training of semi-skilled, cheaper labour was undertaken on the basis of team-work until a team could eventually erect houses at the rate of eight a day at a cost of between £200 to £250 per house. Municipalities began to use this method and raised loans for economic housing schemes for Africans. Building contractors followed suit and obtained contracts for housing schemes from municipalities on the Reef. As a result slums began to be cleared more rapidly in the cities.

The problem of obtaining large tracts of land for such rapid re-housing of the African was acute. Most such sites were far from the industrial centres and the problem of transport loomed up. There was also the wish of the Africans to own their houses. Experience in Germiston had shown that there were Africans who were willing and able to build decent houses of their own on lease-hold property. Out of the urgency of the situation came the site-and-service scheme. The Institute of Building Research looked into the matter of providing essential services at a minimum cost and experiments at Witbank provided confirmation for their suggestions. The selection of sites for such townships was influenced by the problem of transport. Where possible, townships have been placed as near main railway lines as possible and half-an-hour for travelling time to work has been regarded as reasonable. Bus transport has been regarded as slow during peak periods and expensive. Sites have also been selected to

allow for development in a direction away from European areas. Governmental policy required that industries that make large use of African labour, should consider moving away from the European cities to areas bordering on the African reserves. Another consideration was the creation of buffer strips of land between European and non-European areas. The erection of an African township on both sides of a national road or of a railway line was also to be avoided.

Mr. Bührmann summed up the new approach to the housing of Africans as follows:

- (1) Only economic houses are to be built by municipalities.
- (2) All Africans can build their own houses on lease-hold land.
- (3) Speedier and cheaper transport from home to work is essential.
- (4) African townships connected with European towns must be carefully planned.
- (5) The leeway in building of houses for Africans is to be made up by site-and-service schemes on which decent housing can be erected later.
- (6) The basis of African urban housing rests on the assumption that it is temporary and that eventually African families will find their permanent homes in the reserves.

G.O.L.

When I Survey: Thoughts in Preparation for Holy Communion: by David J. Darlow (Obtainable from the Lovedale Press.) 5/-. By post 5/3.

The independent writer of a Foreword to this book declares that the author of *When I Survey* has behind him a unique experience of life and service. As the Professor of English at the University College of Fort Hare, he guided for many years the studies of generations of non-European students while they made acquaintance with the classics of English literature. As a minister of the Presbyterian Church of South Africa he sought, through Christian preaching and teaching, to enrich the thought and life of men and women of varied race in South Africa. And all through his career he was publishing books of poetry that left their impress on many hearts by their richness of imagery, their closeness to nature and their meditative and devotional quality.

In this latest volume Emeritus Professor Darlow has in large measure gathered up the varied strands of his life's experience in a devotional offering to his Lord. The meditations have nothing in common with the trash pouring out from the tabloid press of our day, but to men and women who are conscious that the things that are seen are temporal and that those that are unseen are eternal, they will come, as the New Testament came to Dostoevsky, as "bread and meat and friend."

R.H.W.S.